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CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES¹

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It was the French Canadian *coureurs de bois* who opened up the western trade routes from Hudson's Bay to Louisiana. That was two centuries ago, before the United States was yet a dream of the future. These French Canadians laid the first foundations of a line of great cities, among which may be named Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, Chicago, St. Paul, Pittsburgh and New Orleans. That early chapter is, however, long since closed, except for the faint traces of race one still notices occasionally on the Mississippi. As regards population, the United States more than repaid the debt after the peace of 1783, when United Empire Loyalists founded Upper Canada and New Brunswick and settled the eastern townships of Quebec. For the subject in hand we come down to much closer years, of which we have more or less exact information, and need not run our eye further back than a few years before British North America became the Dominion of Canada. But both the earlier and the later ends of this great story of interchange of population between the two countries, still await the historian's pen.

To put results bluntly, during the second half of last century at least 1,800,000 Canadians moved across the border into the United States. The exodus stands as one of the notable facts in Canada's history. For a time it dismayed a large section of the Canadian people and brought them almost to despair of a political future. But that chapter is closed. Canada is now attracting population alike from Europe and the United States, and is progressing so rapidly that its growth has come to be one of the outstanding events in the recent history of the new world. Accordingly it will be of interest to look back and review briefly the great Canadian exodus, the localities the emigrants have selected for their new homes, the occupations they are following, and their intermarriage with citizens of the United States.

¹ This paper, here revised and reprinted, first appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly* in 1906, vol. xxi.—EDITOR.

The whole topic of the movement of populations—local as well as international—is indeed instructive, for it tells the life-story of a people. It is an epitome of conditions. In a measure migrations reflect the course of affairs at home and at times relations between countries as well. Not infrequently they result from mistaken notions or imperfect knowledge, but wholly blind are they rarely; and whatever their causes, they offer much to interest and to instruct. Modern migrations appear to differ from those of earlier centuries. In ancient times whole peoples, entire tribes, pushed and pressed from east to west in search of fresh lands. Such was the origin of nationalities in Europe. Later on, in the middle ages, when life had become more settled, only particular classes wandered widely, such as knights on crusades or on chivalrous errands, journeymen craftsmen, jugglers, minstrels and merchants. At present, if there be any rule, it is that, irrespective of class, migrations have come to be a matter of private concern. We see individuals and single families changing their homes. A great variety of motives are operative; but through them all runs one common characteristic—the desire to secure a better market for abilities. The nation of origin loses a certain amount of energy which would have been spent in developing its resources; the individual gains what he regards as a better chance.

Levasseur, the French geographer and economist, has attempted to formulate a law of migration. He points out that, as in the world of matter, the bigger the mass the greater the force of attraction, which is only another way of saying that people flock to the cities and generally seek out the largest market for their labor. This law, if law it may be called, must be stated guardedly, since, for example, a densely populated country may more often repel than attract. It will suffice perhaps simply to say that migration is the attempt to adjust population to opportunity—a process of adaptation, a phase of industrialism.

Geographical influences on shiftings of population must not be lost sight of. Climate counts. Though the point has not yet been argued, there is much to support the view that, apart from economic considerations, northern peoples tend to be more mobile than southern. Not that winter drives the northerner into exile. To one enjoying a fair measure of health, few delights are keener than the feelings of exhilaration and the sports of a northern, let us say

of an average Canadian winter. The tingling climate and the stimulating procession of the seasons arouse one into habits of vigorous action. As for Canadians, there is a sprinkling on every continent. For instance in England and Wales there are nearly 19,000; in Australia over 3,000; nearly 1,500 in New Zealand, and in Alaska 2,000 more.

The migration of Canadians to the more developed market of the United States is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, the one shading imperceptibly into the other. With the coming of settled industrial conditions in the republic temporary migration fell away sharply; but in spite of "alien labor" laws they are still important along the border and in such centers as New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago and San Francisco.

In 1900 there were 10,356,644 foreigners who had become domiciled in the United States. Of these 1,181,255, or 11.4 per cent, were Canadian-born. Out of this number 785,958 were English, and 395,297 were French Canadians. By "Canadian" the census always means "born either in Canada or Newfoundland" although Newfoundland is not yet part of the Dominion. In estimating the number of Canadians we must take it into account that many British-born Canadians, after living in Canada for a number of years, have moved south and have been enumerated there as British, not as Canadians. One may hazard the estimate that their number is one-eighth of that of the Canadian-born English-speaking immigrants, *i. e.*, 100,000. With 450,000 children born in the United States of these Canadian parents the total thus becomes 1,731,000; 995,000 (57 per cent) being English Canadians, and 736,000 (43 per cent) French Canadians.² There is still another group of 813,350 who have one Canadian-born parent. But in fairness these cannot be called Canadians and may therefore be left out of count. An allowance, however, will have to be made for the many other Canadians by birth, who, report has it, prefer to report themselves as British and are so enumerated. They bring the grand total up to at least 1,800,000 Canadians at present living in the United States, that is one-third of the population of the Dominion as it stood in 1901.³

²To allow a contrast with these percentages it is to be noted that in Canada the French Canadians form 30.7 per cent of the total population.

³If we include those with one Canadian parent the sum total would be upwards of 2,600,000, one million of these being "French," the balance "English" Canadians.

But how may one estimate the number of those who have emigrated to the United States between 1850 and 1900? The census gives a return showing the decennial increase in the number of foreigners. We may assume the average age of the Canadian immigrants to be twenty-five years. Using then an ordinary mortality table we may calculate the number of those from each decennial increase who should be living to-day:

Decade	Canadian Emigrants to U. S., according to U. S. Census	Alive 1900, according to Mortality Table
1850-60.....	102,000	41,786
1860-70.....	243,000	153,710
1870-80.....	224,000	175,054
1880-90.....	264,000	233,426
1890-00.....	200,000	193,132
Total.....	1,033,000	797,108

These figures mean that an immigration of 1,033,000 persons yields a present population of 797,108. The problem is to know how many are necessary to produce the present population of 1,800,000, less their 450,000 children. This number we find to be 1,750,000. Adding the 450,000 children the grand total loss of population to Canada is found to be 2,200,000 for the half century, one and three-quarters or more millions being lost directly, the balance through immediate natural increase. Of the 2,200,000 the English compose approximately 1,200,000, the French approximately 1,000,000.

Every adult costs his native country at least \$1,000 to nourish and educate. So, after making allowance for the 100,000 of British birth and education, Canada may be said to have invested in the American Republic living capital assessable at \$1,650,000,000—a sufficiently severe drain on a young nation! This enormous loss Canada has withstood, although at the same time it has been steadily carrying on extensive public works. It makes one marvel at the recuperative power of young fertile countries. The loss amounts to half Mr. Giffen's estimate of the crushing burden placed on France by the Franco-Prussian war. There is a contra account, of course, for United States emigration into Canada. The Canadian census

of 1901 places their number at 127,899. At \$1,000 per head this means \$128,000,000, or, with an additional allowance of one-third for the years back to 1850, \$170,000,000, which is about 10 per cent of Canada's loss.

Canadian emigration to the United States has been remarkably constant. The United States census records periodical increases for the previous ten years of 102,259 in 1860; of 243,494 in 1870; of 223,693 in 1880; of 263,781 in 1890, and of 200,317 in 1900. The largest exodus from Canada seems to have occurred therefore during the ten years 1880-90, or perhaps more precisely 1875-85. The steady flow has resulted in Canadians constituting a growing percentage of the whole body of foreigners in the United States. In 1850 they formed 6.6 per cent of all foreigners; in 1860, 6 per cent; in 1870, 8.9 per cent; in 1880, 10.7 per cent; in 1890, 10.6 per cent, and in 1900, 11.4 per cent. The increase, as the following table shows, is paralleled by the Scandinavians alone. Between 1850 and 1900 the percentage of Germans amongst the foreign-born fell slightly—from 26 to 25.8 per cent; of Irish, from 42.8 to 15.6 per cent; of British, from 16.8 to 11.3 per cent; but the percentage of Scandinavians jumped from .9 to 10.3 per cent; and that of Canadians from 6.06 to 11.04 per cent. The relative increase of Canadians, even between 1890 and 1900, is marked, as the following table shows:

CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1900

	1890	1900	Increase from 1890-1900	Per Cent Increase
English Canadians.....	678,442	785,958	107,516	15.8
French Canadians.....	302,496	395,297	92,801	30.7
Total.....	980,938	1,181,255	200,317	20.4
Swedes (next highest).....	478,041	573,040	94,999	19.7
Foreigners generally.....	9,249,547	10,356,644	1,107,097	12.0

The United States immigration statistics give only 3,064 Canadians as settling in that country between 1891-1900; but the census returns show these figures to be entirely astray. In fact the insuperable difficulties in the way of counting people who enter the States by way of Canada make the United States annual returns of Cana-

dian immigrants unreliable, and of late years the attempt to compile them has been abandoned. The official immigration figures may be worth giving, however, for purpose of comparison with other nationalities.

IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

	1821-1900	Per Cent	1891-1900	Per Cent	1881-1890	Per Cent
Aggregate.....	19,115,221	100.0	3,687,564	100.0	5,246,613	100.0
Canada & Newf'd	1,049,939	...	3,064	.1	392,802	7.5
Ireland.....	3,871,253	...	390,179	10.6	655,482	12.5
Great Britain.....	3,024,222	...	270,019	7.3	807,357	15.4
Germany.....	5,009,280	...	505,152	13.7	1,452,970	27.7
	1871-1880	Per Cent	1861-1870	Per Cent	1851-1860	Per Cent
Aggregate.....	2,812,191	100.0	2,314,824	100.0	2,598,214	100.0
Canada & Newf'd	383,269	13.6	153,871	6.7	59,309	2.3
Ireland.....	436,871	15.5	435,778	18.8	914,119	35.2
Great Britain.....	548,043	19.5	606,896	26.2	423,974	16.3
Germany.....	718,182	25.6	787,468	34.0	851,667	36.6

General Distribution of the Canadians

And now as to the localities chosen by Canadians for their new home. Of the English Canadians 88 per cent are divided equally between the North Atlantic and the North Central states, 10 per cent are in the West, 2 per cent in the South. The North Atlantic section will include a large number of "Blue Noses" (Nova Scotians and Brunswickers); though, as the "wise old Nova Scotian owl" *Tramp Abroad* hints, there is many a Nova Scotian miner in the mining camps of the West. Of the French Canadians 77 per cent live along the Atlantic, nearly three-fourths of these being found in seven cities, Manchester, N. H., Fall River, Holyoke, Lowell, New Bedford, Worcester and Lawrence, Mass. Upwards of 20 per cent are in the North Central regions, less than 3 per cent in the West and less than 1 per cent in the South. The small percentage of Canadians in the Southern states (2 per cent of the English, 1 per cent of the French), hardly does justice to the cordiality between Southerners and Canadians which is dated from the time of the civil war.

It is to be remembered that, if regard is had to British Canadians

and children of immigrant Canadians, the numbers in each of these divisions may probably be safely increased one-half.

Division and State	English Canadians	French Canadians	Total
NORTH ATLANTIC STATES	345,342	305,160	650,502
Massachusetts.....	158,753	134,416	293,169
New York.....	90,336	27,199	117,535
Maine.....	36,169	30,908	67,077
Vermont.....	10,616	14,924	25,540
Pennsylvania.....	13,292	1,468	14,760
SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES	6,284	636	6,920
Florida.....	1,014	88	1,102
Maryland.....	1,143	87	1,230
Virginia.....	1,026	104	1,130
NORTH CENTRAL STATES	345,304	77,019	422,323
Michigan.....	151,915	32,483	184,398
Illinois.....	41,466	9,129	50,595
Ohio.....	19,864	2,903	22,767
North Dakota.....	25,004	3,162	28,166
South Dakota.....	5,906	1,138	7,044
Minnesota.....	35,515	12,063	47,578
Wisconsin.....	23,860	10,091	33,951
Kansas.....	7,053	1,485	8,538
SOUTH CENTRAL STATES	8,802	1,460	10,262
Texas.....	2,549	400	2,949
Oklahoma.....	1,248	179	1,427
Kentucky.....	1,072	136	1,208
Louisiana.....	781	253	1,034
Arkansas.....	932	161	1,093
WESTERN STATES	79,098	10,791	89,800
California.....	27,408	2,410	29,818
Washington.....	18,385	1,899	20,284
Montana.....	10,310	3,516	13,826
Colorado.....	8,837	960	9,797
Oregon.....	6,634	874	7,508
Idaho.....	2,528	395	2,923
Utah.....	1,203	128	1,331

Canadians in United States Cities in 1900

It is usually taken for granted that most Canadians go to the great commercial centers. The reverse is the case. Over half are to be found in the country and in the smaller towns. Only 40 per cent of the English and 37.7 per cent of the French Canadians live in the 160 largest cities, that is in cities with 25,000 or more population. I give here a selection of cities that have the largest Canadian constituencies. But, as already pointed out, the British

Canadian and pure Canadian stock would probably raise the number in each city fifty per cent.

City of Residence, 1900	English Canadians		French Canadians		Total Number of Canadians	Estimated Num- ber of Pure Canadian Stock
	Number	Being per cent of Foreigners	Number	Being per cent of Foreigners		
Boston.....	47,374	24.0	2,908	1.5	50,282	65,000
Cambridge.....	9,613	31.5	1,483	4.9	11,096	16,000
Chicago.....	29,472	5.0	5,307	.9	34,779	55,000
Detroit.....	25,403	26.3	3,541	3.7	28,944	45,000
Buffalo.....	16,509	15.8	733	.7	17,242	30,000
New York.....	19,399	1.5	2,527	.2	21,926	38,000
Jersey City.....	907	1.6	134	.2	1,041	1,500
Newark.....	802	1.1	160	.2	962	1,300
Paterson.....	385	1.0	174	.5	559	800
Cleveland.....	7,839	6.3	772	.6	8,611	13,000
Philadelphia.....	2,989	1.0	294	.1	3,283	5,000
Cincinnati.....	928	1.6	103	.2	1,031	1,500
Rochester.....	7,746	19.0	553	1.4	8,299	12,000
Lowell.....	4,485	11.0	14,674	35.8	19,159	30,000
Worcester.....	3,163	8.4	5,204	13.8	8,367	12,000
Fall River.....	2,329	4.6	20,172	40.3	22,501	33,000
Providence.....	3,882	6.9	3,850	6.9	7,732	11,000
New Haven.....	754	2.4	416	1.3	1,170	1,700
Minneapolis.....	5,637	9.2	1,706	2.8	7,343	11,000
St. Paul.....	3,557	7.6	1,015	2.2	4,572	6,800
Milwaukee.....	1,687	1.9	217	.2	1,904	2,800
St. Louis.....	2,151	1.9	339	.3	2,490	3,600
Pittsburgh.....	994	1.2	79	.1	1,073	1,500
Washington, D. C.....	809	4.0	97	.5	906	1,300
New Orleans.....	310	1.0	85	.3	385	600
Louisville.....	365	1.7	45	.2	410	600
San Francisco.....	4,770	4.1	429	.4	5,199	8,000

The proportion of farmers among the Canadians in the United States is shown by the following figures. Briefly upwards of one-fourth of the English Canadians and one-sixth of the French Canadians live on farms. The census accounts for 367,170 Canadian families, 207,580 being English and 159,590 French. Twenty-four per cent of the one, and 16 per cent of the other live on farms. It is a remarkable fact that such a large percentage lead a rural life when

one considers that Canada is itself so largely an agricultural country. On the whole, if we contrast the two Canadian races, there are proportionately more French Canadians in the smaller towns, and proportionately more English Canadians carrying on farming or living in the large cities.

The Occupations of Canadians

A comparison of the occupations of Canadians in the United States and in Canada, brings home the significance of the migration and sets it in a new light. The United States census takes note of 819,264 Canadians ten years of age or over. Forty per cent follow manufacturing; 30 per cent personal service; between 17 and 18 per cent trade and transportation; about the same percentage agriculture; and somewhat over 4 per cent professions. The last percentage is approximately the same as for the native-born white population in the United States. The large numbers in any one occupation compared with the number left behind, as shown in the adjoined table, throw light on conditions in Canada; for example, the number of expatriated Canadian teachers and college professors, lawyers and clergymen. Curious is the number of Canadians as government officials, soldiers and marines, as is also the great number of Canadian girls of a superior class who have gone to the United States as nurses. Rumor has it that many of these are enumerated as Americans "from northern New York" for which one might venture to say there is geographically a show of reason!

Of the 300,000 Canadians engaged in business or following professional pursuits in the United States many hold prominent posts. Indeed one hears at times the statement that the English Canadians enjoy an exceptionally high reputation. Some reasons occur why this should be the case, and, without suggesting comparison, why the average English Canadian in the United States is a good type. (1) Those who go to seek their fortune in a foreign country are presumably hardy and ambitious, the result of a process of natural selection. (2) They have been bred under invigorating climatic influences. (3) They find a wider market for their abilities. (4) They are in a country where traditionally greater responsibility is placed on young shoulders than has been usual in Canada down

PERSONS TEN YEARS OF AGE OR OVER WITH ONE PARENT OR WITH BOTH PARENTS CANADIAN BORN*

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH	ENGLISH CANADIANS		FRENCH CANADIANS		Total	Per Cent	Number having same Occupation Remained in Canada in 1891	Number of Employees Engaged in Indicated Occupation in Canada, 1901
	Males	Females	Males	Females				
AGRICULTURE.....	97,645	2,306	44,267	793	145,011	17.7	790,210	.....
Lumbermen and raftsmen.....	5,223	5	2,842	2	8,072	.....	12,319	.....
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL ARTS..	114,518	30,166	130,381	58,749	333,814	40.7	320,001	369,595
Miners and quarrymen.....	5,090	1	2,521	1	77,613	.....	15,168	.....
Fishermen and oystermen.....	2,761	14	924	3	3,702	.....	.....	.....
Boot and shoemakers and repairers.....	4,757	2,085	9,076	2,643	18,561	.....	15,816	18,041
Saw and planing-mill employees.....	4,489	6	4,904	9	9,408	.....	13,338	53,042
Paper and pulp mill operatives.....	1,378	261	2,272	581	4,492	.....	690	2,817
Printers, lithographers and pressmen.....	3,348	648	996	144	5,136	.....	.....	.....
Textile trades.....	4,270	5,101	43,378	41,509	94,258	.....	.....	.....
Cotton mill operatives.....	1,511	1,602	30,147	29,331	33,191	.....	6,053	8,502
Hosiery and knitting-mill operatives.....	259	884	1,148	2,416	4,707	.....	946	2,162
Silk mill operatives.....	109	322	403	844	1,678	.....	121	322
Woolen mill operatives.....	1,051	1,015	4,693	3,440	10,199	.....	4,241	7,182
Carpet factory operatives.....	73	83	145	111	412	.....	.....	915
Bleachery and dye works.....	225	30	860	65	1,180	.....	.....	.....
Other textile branches.....	1,042	1,165	5,982	5,302	13,491	.....	.....	.....
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE.....	56,912	41,461	49,549	12,970	160,892	19.6	246,183	.....
Nurses and midwives.....	479	5,003	57	579	6,118	.....	2,157	.....
Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.).....	2,902	.....	802	.....	3,714	.....	.....	.....
Hotel-keepers.....	923	149	520	50	1,642	}	.....	.....
Saloon-keepers.....	993	13	1,134	12	2,152		6,818	.....

PERSONS TEN YEARS OF AGE OR OVER WITH ONE PARENT OR WITH BOTH PARENTS CANADIAN BORN*—Concluded

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH	ENGLISH CANADIANS		FRENCH CANADIANS		Total	Per Cen	Number having same Occupation Remains in Canada in 1891†	Number of Employees Engaged in Indicated Occupations in Canada, 1901
	Males	Females	Males	Females				
Bartenders.....	1,316	8	1,203	6	2,533	.....	1,553	
Restaurant-keepers.....	532	116	239	38	925	.....	693	
TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION.....	87,691	15,972	36,711	4,233	144,607	17.6	186,695	
Bankers and brokers.....	990	6	265	1	1,262	.....	923	
Officials of banks and companies.....	1,604	32	256	6	1,898	.....	913	
Boatmen and sailors.....	2,890	4	946	.....	3,840	.....	.....
Wholesale merchants.....	680	4	216	.....	900	.....	1,712	
Steam railway employees.....	10,271	32	5,443	7	15,753	.....	29,752	
PROFESSIONS.....	16,735	12,353	3,614	2,238	34,940	4.2	116,266	
Teachers and college professors.....	1,784	9,210	295	1,641	12,930	.....	22,183	
Music teachers.....	610	1,573	282	355	2,820	.....	3,325	
Literary and scientific people.....	289	162	58	19	528	.....	279	
Artists and teachers of art.....	272	341	64	47	724	.....	953	
Actors and professional showmen.....	733	251	224	50	1,258	.....	.....
Government officials.....	1,248	177	267	32	1,724	.....	441	
Physicians and surgeons.....	2,880	246	725	42	3,893	.....	4,448	
Lawyers.....	1,630	27	233	1	1,891	.....	4,332	
Dentists.....	1,038	30	141	5	1,214	.....	753	
Journalists.....	606	74	95	6	781	.....	786	
Civil engineers and surveyors.....	1,040	2	151	.....	1,191	.....	2,856	
Electricians.....	1,621	10	364	5	2,000	.....	567	
Clergymen.....	1,829	126	497	12	2,464	.....	7,164	
Architects, designers and draftsmen.....	676	27	147	9	858	.....	843	

*The census does not give figures on those having both parents Canadian born.

†The 1901 census figures on occupations are not yet completely compiled. They will, of course, show considerable change.

to recent years. (5) Race and language are in their favor, especially in the West. (6) They have had the benefits of a good common school and, in special cases, of a thorough collegiate education. (7) Coming from a more agricultural country they may be expected to be healthy and thrifty. (8) In old Canada religious influences are strong. (9) Finally it is just possible that the comparative absence down to quite recently of the marked influence of corporate organization of business in Canada has instilled into the Canadian youth a lively sense of personal responsibility.

Who's Who in America mentions 245 Canadians. To this number we would have to add the allowance already made of one-eighth for those born in Great Britain but brought up in, and therefore rightly to be credited to Canada. This would make the number of Canadians according to the standards of this publication 276 or 2.3 for every 10,000 Canadians in the United States. This compares favorably with the British rate of 2.2 per 10,000, 2.1 for the Dutch, .5 for Swedes and .9 for native Americans (black and white) or 1.9 for native white Americans. The record made by the Canadians seems particularly notable when it is remembered that nearly 60 per cent (58.4 per cent of the French Canadians and 56.5 per cent of the English Canadians) are under twenty-one years of age as against 10 per cent for all foreign-born and 52 per cent for all native-born. The railway magnate of the West is a Canadian, as was the late Erastus Wiman. Edison received his first schooling in telegraphy in Ontario. The inventor of the Bell telephone also lived a while in the same province, lecturing for two years at Queen's University; and the first Atlantic cable was promoted in the United States by a Nova Scotian. Canadians preside over two of the foremost American universities; while Harvard and many other seats of learning have a goodly array of Canadian talent in their faculties. Professor Osler who left Baltimore to grace the chair of medicine in Oxford is a Canadian, as is also his successor. At least one of the great national banks of the United States has a Canadian president; and a number of prominent banking and financial houses have Canadian vice-presidents, cashiers and other officials. A full list of distinguished Canadians in the United States would indeed have to include also littérateurs, clergymen, actors, members of Congress and even one diplomatic representative of the Republic.

The Inter-marriage of Canadians and Americans

The marriages of Canadian immigrants show interesting variations. Most of the English-speaking Canadians "cross the line" unmarried and after establishing themselves take wives from among their new acquaintances. The majority of the French Canadians migrate after marrying or marry one of their own race in the United States. This is evident from the fact that three-fourths of the 812,350 children one of whose parents is a Canadian have English Canadian parents. Grouping all Canadians of the present generation together, 48.1 per cent have married in the United States. This is a large proportion compared with other nationalities. For example, only 36 per cent of the English marry in the United States; 36 per cent of the French and 32 per cent of the Scotch. The Canadians, in the great majority of instances when they do not marry native Americans, marry people of British extraction. The actual intermarriage of the 135,521 Canadian men was as follows:

MARRIAGE OF CANADIAN MEN IN UNITED STATES WITH WOMEN OF FOREIGN BIRTH

Nationality of Women	Number of Men	Per Cent
Irish.....	49,213	71
English.....	30,630	
Scotch.....	15,718	
Welsh.....	1,099	
Canadian.....	15,488	11½
German.....	11,569	9
Scandinavian.....	3,958	9
French.....	3,246	2½
Swiss.....	708	3
Russians, Bohemians and Poles.....	637	
Austro-Hungarian.....	302	
Italian.....	119	
Others.....	2,834	

It is worth noting that in 1900 as many as 90.8 per cent of the English Canadians had become naturalized and 84 per cent of the French Canadians. A student of the French Canadians in New England,⁶ writing in 1898, comes to the conclusion that the French

⁶ Wm. MacDonald "The French Canadians in New England," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. xii. See also Rev. E. Hamon's "Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle-Angleterre" (Quebec, 1891), and "Growth of the French Canadian Race in America," by Professor John Davidson in *THE ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1896).

Canadians in New England are gradually losing their identity and coalescing with other nationalities, especially the Irish. I have myself heard French Canadians say they were ashamed to speak French in their United States home. The birth-rate among them is lower than in Quebec; child mortality, especially up to five years, remains high; immigration has greatly declined and solicited immigration has ceased altogether. The influence of industrial life and of free public schools is doing the rest. The comparative youthfulness of the Canadians, already referred to, is here of moment.

A word as to the effect of all this emigration on Canada's population. During the half century Canada made up one and one-quarter millions of her loss by settlers crossing the water from Great Britain. This and other European immigration together with her natural increase have enabled Canada to show a slight advance in population from decade to decade.

The meager growth has given rise to assertions of a declining birth-rate in some of the older provinces. During the last few decades later marriages and a slightly lower birth-rate are in evidence both in Europe and in America. Agricultural sections especially have lost in population on account of the introduction of machinery. The constituents of the rural population have changed: there are now relatively more children and old folk than formerly, fewer of middle age, those in the prime of life being drawn into the great stream of people migrating to the cities, and in Canada to the new West or to the United States. This is largely the situation in Ontario and in "the provinces down by the sea." That there are now not so many births in proportion to the whole population is in itself natural. But available returns do not allow one to speak of an unusual decline in the birth rate in relation to the people of marriageable age. The assertion of a lower birth rate can accordingly be little more than surmise. Yet it is doubtless true that families are smaller than formerly. Speaking of Ontario one can even notice that families are smaller in the old settled parts than in northern or "New" Ontario. The result is that for many years Ontario, as well as the maritime provinces little more than held their own in population. This is evident from the following table. This does not hold for Quebec province, where families with fifteen to twenty-five children are not uncommon and where the population has gone on doubling itself since 1680 on the average every thirty

years, elbowing out moreover the comparatively few English residents from the country parts.⁷

The relations between Canada and the United States have been in some points not unlike those between Scotland and England. There is the great difference, however, that Canada has a back country with a varied wealth of natural resources which is now attracting a larger population and creating a wider home-market for men and goods. And in spite of the heavy net losses of population in the past, there is probably no part of the world

POPULATION OF CANADA BY PROVINCES

Province	1871	1881	1901	1911
Ontario.....	1,620,351	1,923,228	2,182,947	2,523,274
Quebec.....	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,648,898	2,002,712
Nova Scotia.....	387,800	440,572	459,574	492,338
New Brunswick.....	285,594	321,233	331,120	351,889
Prince Edward Island.....	94,021	108,891	103,259	93,728
Manitoba.....	25,228	62,260	255,211	455,614
Territories.....	48,000	56,446	211,649	892,808 ⁸
British Columbia.....	36,427	49,454	178,657	392,480
Total.....	3,688,937	4,321,111	5,371,315	7,204,843

where the average comfort is so high, and where since 1900 a rapid progress in agriculture, industry and population is so evident as in "The Great Dominion." During the five years ending with July, 1905, upwards of 550,000 people are reported to have settled here. One hundred and eighty-two thousand of these have come from the United States, 60 to 75 per cent of whom are said to be returning Canadians. The immediate future promises even more impressive results. While the emigration of Canadians to-day appears to be still not unimportant the northward trekking of settlers into Canada has assumed large proportions. American capital is also showing more and more interest in Canadian industry. I refrain from giving further figures as the published statistics on emigration and immigration appear to me unreliable.

⁷ Professor Davidson, in his article already cited, finds that the French Canadians have been doubling since 1763 every twenty-seven years.

⁸ Made up of the two new provinces of Alberta with 374,663, Saskatchewan with 92,434, Yukon Territory with 8,512, and the unorganized Northwest Territory with 17,196.

The effect of all this interchange of blood and capital one can only say lies hidden in the mists of the future. This much may be ventured, however: the presence of many Canadians in the United States and of Americans in the Dominion is as a pledge of amity and peace, a pledge of all the greater value in North America, where, unlike Europe, two great nations practically divide the continent, and where for this very reason it is conceivable that in moments of popular excitement these nations might forget that even a selfish national policy is not necessarily hostile in intent. It is well, too, in the interests of the *pax americana* that both countries are finding responsibilities beyond their continent, though with his theory of the "manifest destiny" of Canada, the late Mr. Goldwin Smith was of another mind. As for the United States, it is changing from an American republic to an empire with a world-wide outlook. Canada also is passing on from the stage of self-contemplation to the prospect of imperial interests.